LIVING ON TO MAKE NEW TRADITIONS

THE SAINT'S DAY FESTIVALS OF HUNGARIAN IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICA[1]

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Abstract: Drawing on immigrant press sources and church publications, the paper describes and analyses the saint's day festivals of Hungarians who inmigrated to the United States. It traces customs related to pilgrimages from the end of the 19th century to WWII. The primary goal in retaining or reviving this tradition was to preserve religious continuity, boost national awareness, win the recognition of American society and create ethnic identity above group affiliations. Also, the church festivals held by Hungarians in the United States played partly the same role as the practice in the home country: the religious function predominated, followed by the opportunity to get together and the intention of strengthening cohesion of the community. However, it gradually lost the character of a continuation of old-world experience while it gained new symbolic meanings.

Keywords: Hungarian immigrants, saint's day festivals, popular religion, ethnic and cultural identity

"Our fellow countrymen from Buzita (Abaúj county) recently observed a saint's day festival on 19 September, the same day they had always celebrated at home. The music began at the home of János Laczko at 2:00 in the afternoon, and the company danced until midnight. The beer flowed so freely, that even the much-loved (?) Buzita priest could have bathed in it. Even the local police were in attendance!"[2] Though this scrap of news may seem somewhat profane for the opening of a scientific paper, it is nevertheless the first – or at least, the first I am aware of – that communicates how Hungarian immigrants in the United States preserved, among other elements of their home culture, the custom of holding saint's day festivals in their new surroundings. For this reason, what would otherwise seem an insignificant article is worth examining further and putting into some kind of perspective. Once some additional information is taken into consideration, a

[1] The collection of certain information, primarily in relation to Bridgeport, was made possible by a 1993 Fulbright scholarship and the support of the OKTK VIII/B (Hungarian studies) research fund.

[2] *Amerikai Nemzetőr*, 6 October 1897, p. 8.

deeper understanding of the transformation undergone by and functions served by the everyday religious lives of Hungarian immigrants may be gained.

The news article cited above appeared in *Amerikai Nemzetőr*, published in Toledo, Ohio, on 6 October 1897. At the time, Hungarian immigrants had only one Roman Catholic church, the Szent Erzsébet Congregation of Faith in Cleveland, founded on 11 December 1892. (Prior to that, there were joint Slovakian–Hungarian churches in Hazleton, Pennsylvania and in Cleveland, but one soon dissolved as a result of national differences, while the Hungarian and Slovakian halves of the other took leave of each other to form separate congregations.) In 1893, believers in Cleveland raised a church of their own, which for years remained the only Hungarian Roman Catholic Church in America. Moreover, there was only one Hungarian Catholic priest operating on the continent at the time: Father Károly Böhm, the Cleveland parish priest. Böhm was a native of Selmecbánya [today Banská Štiavnica in Slovakia] who spoke Hungarian, Slovak, and German. In December of 1892, he had been sent abroad by the Primate of Hungary at the request of the Cleveland Catholic bishop to undertake the organisation of Hungarian ecclesiastical life and was thus the first to found a church in Cleveland.[3]

For years, Károly Böhm cared for the souls of the numerous Hungarian Catholics spread over the expansive territory of the United States, visiting Hungarian settlements on the East Coast, in the industrial centres of the Mid-West, in the mining country of Ohio, and even in San Francisco and Texas. During the first six months of 1898, for example, he appeared in 24 separate towns, customarily, as he wrote in his journal, "on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, so that every Hungarian church-goer could partake of the sacraments. In this way, I travelled a total of twelve thousand four hundred seventeen miles by train alone, delivering the sacraments to 239 young men, 70 girls, 692 men, and 426 women: a total of 1427 souls".[4] In addition to Hungarians, Böhm regularly saw to the needs of Slovakian Catholics, as well, especially those living in distant mining areas. From 1894 on, Böhm also published a weekly church newsletter, *Magyarországi Szent Erzsébet Amerikai Hirnöke* [The American Herald of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary], which served not only to keep members of his own church informed, but also to sustain relations between believers separated by vast distances.

The Cleveland parish priest first appeared in Toledo, Ohio in January of 1898. "Here," he noted, "believers who took confession each contributed a dollar, and two of them ordered holy mass. This is how it went from beginning to end, to the eternal joy of old András Tóth and his wife, who were perhaps the first Hungarians to offer their homes for the purposes of holy mass. I am the first priest from Hungary to turn up here. Some of these people have not had the opportunity of given confession for 5, 6, or 7 years."[5] Thus, Hungarians who had made their way here had not yet organised a formal church life for themselves, so that the touring Hungarian parson held even the holy mass in people's

[3] For information on the history of the church, see KENDE 1927, vol. II: 370–391; TÖRÖK 1978: 108–113; VARDY 1985; PUSKÁS 2000: 151–163; Károly Böhm's biography was written by one of his descendents, Ferenc Kárpi, not for expressly scientific purposes or according to scholarly standards, but based on the priest's journals and contemporary documents. KÁRPI 1991.

[4] KÁRPI 1991: 66.

[5] Ibid.: 46.

homes. The framework for the sort of spiritual life they had led prior to immigration was not yet in place. Thus, it was no chance happening that the Buzita immigrant community in Toledo chose to hold their saint's day festival in secular form. The reason was obviously not that the lack of priest and church had left them with entertainment as their only option. In folk custom, the worldly trappings that accompanied the religious content of saint's day festivities occupied no small place in the overall scheme of events. Thus, though the minute news item cited above verifies only that a dance had been held on the day in question, it also demonstrates that Hungarian immigrants in America had no desire to leave behind the saint's day custom so important to old-country culture. Later, it will be shown that in Toledo, following the establishment of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church, saint's day celebrations were introduced not only in their secular form as discussed above, but also as true religious events.

In Toledo, the inclination toward religious organisation was reinforced beginning in 1897 by the formation and subsequent vitalisation of the King Saint Stephen I Roman and Greek Catholic Sick Benefit Society. The church itself was organised a year later, followed in 1899 by the construction of a church building, consecrated in August on the day of Saint Stephen, the community's patron saint. This was the second Hungarian Roman Catholic Church to be founded in the United States. Church consecrations were extremely important events in the lives of immigrants, offering an occasion for members of the faithful dispersed throughout the U.S. to meet and celebrate together. In Toledo, the consecration of the Saint Stephen's Church became the celebration day of its patron saint. "The Hungarian people hold the custom of holy pilgrimage in high esteem. Here in America, however, there is no occasion for pilgrimage. That is, there *was* no occasion in the past, though there will be from now on", wrote Károly Böhm in his church newsletter, referring to the invitation of a Cleveland club. "This is how our Prince St. Imre Society, which resolved to organise a saint's day festival in celebration of the August 20 consecration of the Holy Hungarian Church of Toledo, conceived of the matter." The Cleveland parson recounted the event, to which pilgrims had travelled by special, reserved train: "Upon the initiative and hard work of the knightly division of the Cleveland Prince Saint Imre and Sick Benefit Society, a group of about 200 enthusiastic saint's day revellers was formed. The group travelled to attend the church consecration held in Toledo 117 miles away, not, perhaps, to make merry, but to express their piety toward King St. Stephen, as the apostle of the Hungarian nation. Heaven will reward them greatly for both their efforts and the offerings they brought."[6]

Among Hungarian Americans, the celebration of St. Stephen's Day was a general sign of awareness of one's national-ethnic identity. In the United States, Hungarian Catholic churches showed a tremendous preference for St. Stephen when selecting a patron saint. According to a survey drafted by Géza Kende, chronicler of Hungarian-American life, there were 59 Hungarian Catholic churches operating in America in 1927, of which 13 confessed Saint Stephen as patron saint. Somewhat fewer sought the protec-

[6] Ibid.: 104–105.

tion of other personages (6 the *Nagyboldogasszony* [Blessed Lady], 4 St. László, etc.).[7] Thus, St. Stephen's Day became the date most often chosen for ecclesiastical saint's day festivals. The largest and best-known events of this type were held in Toledo, Bridgeport (Connecticut), and McKeesport (Pennsylvania).

Sources speak of the St. Stephen's Day festivities held in Toledo in the 1930s as lively occasions, with people visiting the Hungarian community from relatively distant places. The rich secular program was seen as the most important ethnic community event of the year. The St. Stephen's Day panoply would have been unimaginable without traditional Hungarian honeycake figures. (See later for more on this.) It is worth noting that the *Birmingham Ethnic Festival,* created during the 1970s in the spirit of contemporary ethnic movements – and, in fact, still held today – was originally developed as a multiethnic complement to the St. Stephen's Day celebration organised by the former Hungarian community.

In other places, too, Hungarian immigrants sought to establish New World traditions along the Old World pattern. In Chicago, the congregation of the Our Lady of Hungary Roman Catholic Church first observed the "most important festival of the blessed Mary" on 13 October 1907. Saint's day holy mass was held "according to the custom at home" by Wuldon, the bishop of Chicago, with the sermon delivered by the parish priest, László Farkas. Lending a particular lustre to the entire affair were performances by the St. Imre Youth Society Boy's Choir and the Rákóczi Brass Band. Litany at 4:00 p.m. was followed by secular festivities held in Slumbrick Hall, the community building next to the church. Celebrants engaged in various competitions in the yard in front of the church, followed in the evening by amateur theatrical productions.[8] Five years later, a newspaper article covering the usual saint's day festivities would emphasise that the event was not merely a religious ceremony, but a Hungarian holiday where "every Hungarian living in the city and surrounding area celebrated together, without regard for denominational differences". The saint's day ceremony, which was attended by "many thousands of Hungarians", was held by Reverend László Farkas, patron of the saint's day custom in America, Kálmán Kovács from McKeesport, and Gyula Szepessy from Cleveland. According to the article, the local priest hosted "the crème de la crème of the Chicago area Hungarian population in old Hungarian fashion, while the rest of the community celebrated in Slumbrick Hall with true Hungarian conviviality".[9]

Drawing some of the largest crowds was the church festival of Saint Stephen's Catholic Church in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, first held in 1899 at the initiative of church priest Kálmán Kováts. The event was reported each year in *Magyarok Csillaga* [Star of the Hungarians] (1900–1905), and in its later incarnation, the *Magyar Katholikus*

[7] KENDE 1927, II: 384–385. The Hungarian character of churches appearing in the record varies. In reality, not all of them qualified as Hungarian-speaking even then. Many were listed as Hungarian churches based on their foundation alone.

[8] *Magyar Napilap*, 7 October 1907.

[9] *Chicagoi Magyar Hírlap*, 18 October 1912. In Chicago in the 1920s, Greek Catholics from the territory of Hungary held large saint's day festivals on Saint Peter and Paul Day "according to the custom at home". Festivities were observed after the church ceremony with all the secular trappings and a gypsy band: "women of the church serve *gulyás* from tents and a bazaar is opened". *Az Írás,* 30 June 1929.

Zászló [Hungarian Catholic Flag] (1906–1926), a church newsletter edited and largely written by Kováts himself. The evolution of the saint's day tradition is clearly traceable through subsequent editions of this publication, especially as regards the part played by Kováts, who managed and controlled church life with great force of will. From his calls to action, reports, and saint's day sermons, the religious content of the McKeesport St. Stephen's Day Festival and the significance attributed to it by the priest are plainly discernable, though the same may not be said of accompanying secular elements. The newsletter claims, for example, that in the first decade of its founding, 600–800 people took confession at the festival, while the larger event regularly boasted thousands of participants from the Monongahela Valley and even more distant Hungarian settlements.

In explanation of his having chosen St. Stephen's Day for its saint's day festival, the parish priest gave the following justification: "It was on this day that we Hungarians of the Monongahela Valley held our first celebratory Hungarian mass one year ago [in 1899]. Given that the patron saint of our congregation is also Saint Stephen, we will celebrate this day as our own saint's day festival both now, and for as long as Hungarian hearts still beat in the Monongahela Valley."[10] On another occasion he wrote, "there are no places of pilgrimage here, but we do have churches, where, because songs are sung in the tongue of our sweet mothers, and the holy gospels are spoken in the sonorous language of our homeland, we are able to pray better than in a place where we understand nothing of this".[11] Here it becomes clear that the founding of the Hungarian church, and its maintenance as a centre for working-class immigrants, lent meaning to a festival observed on the day of the church's patron saint. Plainly, the custom may be seen as a continuation of and, simultaneously, a recreation under new circumstances of an old Hungarian (and general ecclesiastical) practice.

At the time Kálmán Kováts penned the above article, the church in McKeesport had been functioning in a temporary church. Once the new church had been consecrated in 1901, its St. Stephen's Day fair and festival grew in importance to the lives of Hungarian immigrants living strung throughout the industrial areas around Pittsburgh. Each year, hundreds made the pilgrimage to St. Stephen's church. To use one of Kálmán Kováts' favourite expressions, a turn of phrase which appeared on the pages of the church newsletter virtually every year, McKeesport "was to the American Hungarian population what Mecca was to the faithful Moslem, or Rome or the Holy Land to the believing Christian".[12]

A quarter of a century later, in 1925, the priest wrote of the significance of the St. Stephen's Day celebration:

"The Hungarian Roman Catholic community of the Monongahela Valley celebrates the day of the patron saint of our church, that is, the Festival of King Saint Stephen, for the twenty-seventh time this year. This was the day on which the Holy Gospels were first heard in Hungarian in the Monongahela Valley in America, and this was the day on which our church was consecrated. Thus, it is from our standpoint a very great day of celebra-

[10] *Magyarok Csillaga*, 4 August 1900, p. 249.
[11] *Magyarok Csillaga*, 11 August 1900, p. 259.
[12] *Magyar Katholikus Zászló*, 15 August 1926, p. 2.

tion; as these saint's days were those that not only divided the history of the Hungarian-American population in two in America, but in terms of religion, the events that occurred on this day aroused from its enchanted sleep the theretofore slumbering national self-awareness of the Hungarian people."[13]

In a news item published in 1903, Kováts wrote of the festival decorations: "The altar candles will be accented by ribbons in the Hungarian national colours; the pulpit cloth will be edged in the same. ... The exterior wall of the church will be wreathed in draperies in the Hungarian national colours; from the steeples of our church, the Hungarian and American flags will sway in the wind; inside the church, men and women of true Hungarian heart will be watched over by images of the Hungarian saints, who in beautifully crafted paintings shall lay the whole of Hungarian history out before us."[14]

Kováts felt it very important that he make his church and, through it, the Hungarian immigrant community acceptable to American society and the American authorities. Of the possible means for achieving this, he attributed especial significance to the saint's day festival, and more particularly to his having been granted a permit for the accompanying procession "with the waving of Hungarian flags" held outside the church as part of the festivities. "This is a great and remarkable event," he wrote, "because in our ecclesiastical district, no public church procession – that is, no procession to advance along the full length of the street – was permitted anywhere at any time prior to 1905. And thus it was a unique and illustrious event in the history of America that at that time, in 1905, our public church festival of King Saint Stephen's Day was personally led by the bishop himself – yes, Regis Canevin, the good bishop of the ecclesiastical district of Pittsburgh – with Hungarian song and the waving of Hungarian flags."[15] The street procession was held every year thereafter, which Kálmán Kováts took as a visible sign of acceptance and recognition for the Hungarian community. Held in public areas, these colourful parades were one of the typical means by which the immigrants presented themselves to others, thus forging their own special ethnic identity; and it is clear that community leaders understood the significance of this.[16]

The procession was held before the 10:30 mass, with participants observing a set order as they left the church: the cross was followed by "a row of girls in white dresses. After that came the Society of Saint Margit and the Congregation of Maria; followed by the Society of the Holy Name of Jesus, the Rosary Society, and members of the Altar Society in full regalia; and finally came the members of various men's clubs; in their wake marched the church curators with burning candles, succeeded by the priesthood, for

[13] *Magyar Katholikus Zászló*, 15 August 1925, p. 1.

[14] *Magyarok Csillaga*, 21 August 1903. The church received its altarpiece, the work of János Molnár Pentelei, from Franz Joseph at the time of its consecration. In the image, St. Stephen offers up the Holy Crown to Mary. See BOROS-KAZAI 1981. 17–19.; *McKeesport* 1975. With the exception of the altarpiece donated to McKeesport by the king, "the official State of Hungary and Hungarian bishops and archbishops contributed not a relic, statue, or icon to the Hungarian-American churches whose congregations had once breathed in the first doctrines of their Catholic religious lives in their own ecclesiastical districts". See KENDE 1927, vol. II: 385.

[15] *Magyar Katholikus Zászló*, 14 August 1919, p. 266.

[16] See FEJŐS 1993: 128–133.

whom the curators served as an honour guard. After the priests came the choir and, last of all, the congregation."[17]

Kováts' primary goals were to preserve religious continuity, revive national self-awareness, gain general recognition on the part of American society, and to communicate the distinction between Hungarians and other ethnic groups – or even to resist them – with primary reference to Hungarian Slovaks. Behind his attitude and efforts lay a desire to reinforce a national self-awareness founded on religious morality, an ideal he proclaimed fiercely – in his weekly church newsletter, among other media – in the face of unbelievers, including socialists (in general or concretely), pan-Slavs (concretely "*tót*" or Slovak peoples immigrated to the U.S. from the territory of Hungary), and Protestants (often in the persons of the area's Hungarian Reformed ministers).

Year after year, as the time for festivities approached, the priest reminded his parish of the religious significance of the event: that confession was absolutely necessary if one was to gain the remission of sins. By the same token, he did not fail to upbraid those to whom the festival was viewed primarily as an occasion for eating, drinking, entertainment, and licentious behaviour. "Many," he wrote, "feel that a saint's day festival is only a saint's day festival if they may visit one another, buy each other gifts at the fair, and even partake of various entertainments. This, however, is far removed from the spirit of the Roman Catholic faith; it is true, of course, that it is permitted to enjoy oneself at such a time, but only if one has first given God what God is due."[18]

For this reason, Kováts chose to make no further mention of the non-ecclesiastical events of St. Stephen's Day in McKeesport. From other sources, however, it is clear that during the 1920s, the secular side of the festival took the form of a typical American summer picnic.

The nearby community of Lechburg offers an example of the presence of traditional saint's day festival mementoes at such events in America. The Lechburg community, which had separated itself from that of McKeesport and had consecrated its church to the Ascension of the Virgin Mary in 1919, celebrated its own saint's day festival on the first Sunday after Mary's Day, on 15 August.[19] In 1921, according to a preliminary news announcement, a "Hungarian-style saint's day celebration and evening picnic" were held following Sunday mass. "The self-improvement group will set up a Hungarian puppet theatre in front of the church to refresh dear, old memories from our distant fatherland. In addition to honeycake cookies, babies, swords, and mounted hussars, there will also be old-fashioned *márc* [sweet refreshment made by honeycake-makers] and sweet lemonade available", the item read.[20]

[17] *Magyar Katholikus Zászló*, 15 August 1925, p. 3.

[18] *Magyar Katholikus Zászló*, 15 August 1926, p. 12. Kováts often condemned the old-world secularisation of saint's day festivals, as well, which he considered a clear sign of the final degradation of the "old, gloriously lustrous Hungary". See *Magyar Katholikus Zászló* 20 August 1914, inner cover.

[19] *Magyar Katholikus Zászló*, 14 August 1919, p. 263; 21 August, pp. 270–271. The 8 August 1918 edition of the church newsletter (pp. 253–255) lists all those who purchased the churches accessories and furnishings by name, indicating the place of birth in the old world of each individual.

[20] *Szabadság*, 5 August 1921.

The sorts of honeycake figures traditionally sold at church festivals turned up in both Toledo and Bridgeport. Based on the remembrances of one-time participants and sporadic contemporary press sources, it may be established that this old-time custom was maintained in both cities throughout the 1930s. On St. Stephen's Day in Toledo, organisers set up tents, from which they sold honeycake, along with a special type of hard pretzel that was first boiled, then baked. After the First World War, honeycake was brought in to Toledo from Cleveland. In 1936, for example, the honeycake seller's tent stood opposite the school next to the church; his confections came in the shapes of hearts, swords, hussars, babies, baskets, and guitars.[21]

The man who made honeycake in Bridgeport was András Vécsey, whose bakery and confectioner's shop would operate in the city for decades. Vécsey and his two brothers were familiar figures in the Hungarian-American community. Vécsey and his older brother had immigrated to America to escape family problems in 1888 – his father had been sheriff in the district of Gönc, and later the parliamentary representative of Abaúj County – and had later served in the U.S. Army. He had learned his trade in Germany before leaving Europe, opening his shop in Bridgeport at the beginning of the century and, according to an advertisement published in 1916, soon became the city's only honeycake maker and maker of cakes for Hungarian wedding feasts.[22] The honeycake figures he sold for the St. Stephen's Day Festival were considered by the American press to be a typical ethnic treat peculiar to the Hungarians. "Andrew Vecsey," wrote the *Bridgeport Post* in 1938, "still makes the traditional Hungarian cake images of soldiers and saints which are used by members of his church on religious and national feast days."[23]

The role of the saint's day festivals of Hungarian immigrants was at least in part identical to that played by the same festivals at home: they were primarily religious occasions, accompanied by community events intended to foster community spirit. Festivals gave relatives, acquaintances, and the residents of various Hungarian settlements the opportunity to meet one another. Also clearly present was an effort to shape certain church festivals, at least as much as possible, into true occasions for pilgrimage, though the religious basis for this involved only churches founded in foreign lands. The establishment of a church, consecration of a church building, and the honouring of a church's patron saint together provided the basis for the observation of saint's days among immigrants. The circumstances surrounding immigration did not allow for the introduction of true religious festivals centred on pilgrimages, though the denominationally homogeneous Poles did manage such a feat: the Polish community founded a shrine in Dylestown, Pennsylvania, which contributed to the subsequently independent character of Polish-American Catholicism.[24]

The process by which saint's days and other old-world religious customs survived and were transformed can also be interpreted within a broader framework. Folk religious

[21] SZUCH 1987: 70.

[22] For more on his life: *Bridgeport Sunday Post*, 14 October 1934; Report, 1916.

[23] The article was published on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Vécsey's arrival in America. *Bridgeport Post*, 28 September 1938. (Newspaper clippings, Bridgeport Public Library.)

[24] BUKOWCZYK 1987: 41.

feeling in the lives of European immigrants in America was not merely – and not simply – a symbol of and instrument for maintaining culture and creating group cohesion in a foreign environment. American social historians have pointed out that popular religion imported from abroad and adapted to new circumstances gave believers support in their forbearance of American class and power relations.[25] The act of founding churches in the United States was itself born of the spontaneous religious movements that arose in immigrant communities of various sizes, as they received no aid from the state, and those arriving from Europe were unused to this. The examples cited above provide further evidence of this phenomenon. Immigrants were forced to organise churches out of their own resources, supplemented by aid from the homeland only much later. Local ecclesiastical and secular authorities, on the other hand, did more to hinder these organising forces, with their unfamiliar rites, traditions, and language, than to help them. Immigrants derived strength from their traditions, in opposition to which their own priests would wage a battle for clarification, later, during the period of institutionalisation. Kálmán Kováts, as it was shown, exhibited little tolerance for the folk interpretation of the saint's day festival within the walls of the church itself, while doing everything he could to keep the religious awareness of believers under control, and to wholly infuse that awareness with the ideology of old-world nationalism. According to John J. Bukowczyk, by the 1930s, the clergy ("orthodoxy") had overpowered both the folk concept and practice of religion, while at the same time both had lost ground to a general secularisation of society.[26] In the meantime, in some places, a few elements of custom – some with closer and others with looser ties to the church – were transformed into the symbolic building blocks of – and, in fact, symbols of – the ethnic awareness and identity of former immigrants. And in this symbolic manifestation they would begin to play a role that gradually lost the character of a continuation of old-world experience.

In this study, I have attempted to paint a picture of the saint's day customs observed by Hungarian immigrants in the United States from the end of the 19th century through the Second World War, based on a selection of press sources and church publications. I have not dealt with the changes and new phenomena that accompanied the period to follow, as these occurred under entirely different socio-historical circumstances and thus require separate consideration. It is for this reason that I have said nothing of the American shrine to the Csíksomlyó Madonna founded by the Transylvanian Franciscan order in Youngstown in 1964, which the bishop of Youngstown accorded the name "Comforter of the Afflicted".[27] Scholarly investigation of this later period would not only allow for a deeper understanding of a new type of immigrant/émigré saint's day festival, but also reveal the unusual spread of the spirit of Csíksomlyó, the Transylvanian centre of Hungarian Catholicism. Moreover, it would shed light on the nature and character of transnationalism – considered one of the typical cultural symptoms of our times – from the standpoint of cultural identity, and of the evolution of Hungarian national culture. But this, it would seem, must remain a topic for future study.

[25] VECOLI 1977; BUKOWCZYK 1988; POZZETTA 1989: 76, 90.
[26] BUKOWCZYK 1988: 23.
[27] TÖRÖK 1978: 400–405.

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